1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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511 As long as the Min Chia farmer keeps out of debt his
241 economic position is fairly satisfactory. Subsidiary crops,
434 grown often on the edges of the rice fields, or on some bank
262 of raised land which cannot be irrigated, provide both a variety of diet and a little cash. Tobacco, rather coarse in quality, is grown widely. Cabbages, carrots, onions, taro, a kind of turnip, artichokes, peas, haricot and long beans, and in recent years a few potatoes, add flavour to the rice bowl. Indigo for the common blue dye, pulse for lamp oil, and hemp for string, are always in demand. On dry ground some maize, sorghum and barley are grown. Many farmers have a few tea bushes in their kitchen gardens, and some mulberries, peas, peaches and apricots are produced for home consumption. The good quality fruit, however, citrus in winter, pears and peaches in summer, all comes from the other side of the lake.

241 For fertilisers the Min Chia depend on lake weed, pond weed, animal and human manure. No chemical fertilisers are in use and most Min Chia farmers do not seem to have ever heard of them. Oxen or water buffalo are used for ploughing, and occasionally donkeys are used for transporting the harvest to market, but most of the field work is done by the farmers themselves, their wives, and children. The plough ing of wet rice land is very heavy work, for which the water buffalo, an enormously powerful animal, is best suited. A buffalo can plough five *mu*—nearly an acre—in a day, which would require two oxen. The buffalo, however, is an expensive animal, worth about 50 or 60 Silver dollars a head (£2 5*s.* 0*d.*) and many farmers cannot afford them. The price of oxen is between 20 and 30 Silver dollars a head, but as two are needed to plough a rice field there is not much economy in using oxen.

462 Men and women do the same field work, except that the
241 heavy work of ploughing is left to the men. Women weed

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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the fields, cultivate with the hoe, do most of the transplanting of rice, and assist the men at the harvest. They also bring the harvest back to the homestead. Marketing is usually left to the women who carry loads of produce to the city on their backs, settle down for the day to sell it, and return to the villages in the evening with the proceeds. This work is done both by married women and young girls. The Min Chia women are extremely strong, often doing porterage work which in other parts of China would only be done by men.

Most of the rice land is privately owned, but every village has some public land, usually attached to a temple, which is rented out at the usual rate of half the crop to the tenant and half to the public. The proceeds are used to maintain the village school, which is held in the temple itself, and any surplus may be applied either to some public work such as repairs to the temple, or for the expenses of a festival. The public also have the right of shooting and of hunting over all land, the spoil going to the hunter. This right does not mean very much in a closely cultivated area where game is scarce, and though the same free right of the chase applies to the mountain, the Min Chia make little use of it, partly because the control of fire-arms is strict, a license being required, and partly because they show no aptitude as hunters. The wooded slopes of T'sang Shan are the safe retreat of pheasants, hares, partridges, wild goat, deer, and the animals which prey upon them, wolves, leopards, and possibly tigers.[1]

The neglect of the hunting rights is characteristic of the Min Chia attitude to mountains. The entire area of Ts'ang

[1] No tiger has been reported on T'sang Shan for several years. Leopards are not plentiful, but wolves abound, and raid the farms on the plain for chickens, pigs, and even small children. They never hunt in packs, and will not attack an adult, but show no fear of man when encountered on the mountain.

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tices are given a real feast with as much pork, chicken, delicacies and wine as they can stuff away.

The peasant boy begins to work as a herd before he is strong enough to do field work. Oxen, water buffalo, and sheep are usually left in charge of small boys of eight or nine years, who spend the day with their charges on the slopes of the mountain, or by the shore of the lake among the willow groves, playing the flute, or astride the broad back of the good-tempered water buffalo, wallowing in the shallows of the lake. The animals are allowed to graze on the narrow dykes between the rice fields, but under the watchful eyes of their young herdsmen the well-trained beasts never dare to wander into the tempting unfenced crops on either side. The complete control which a small boy exercises over a huge water buffalo in these circumstances, though it does not seem strange to the Min Chia, astonishes visitors who know the ways of domestic animals in other lands. The lazy, sunny days on the back of a water buffalo must seem in retrospect a golden age to the young Min Chia when he has grown old enough to do the hard unceasing work on the land, wading through thick mud when ploughing, or hoeing the roots out of the heavy black soil of the drained fields.

The peasant girl begins to work at the same age, or earlier than her brother. Apart from helping the older women at the domestic tasks, the young girls carry loads of produce to the market, and at an early age, thirteen or fourteen, they are left in charge to sell this and bring the proceeds home at night. This free and independent life spent all day in the busy scenes of a town street, or a village market place away from the supervision of parents gives the Min Chia girl a self confidence and assurance rarely found in the women of eastern countries, and is at once a proof of, and a tribute to, the good sense of the Min Chia mothers and the good

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot binding. A large part of the porterage of goods from the lake shore to the city and from Hsia Kuan is done by women and girls, who also do most of the grass cutting on the higher slopes of the mountain. They assist in the handling of boats, and in planting rice fields. This work is usually done by a group of girls working together, who beguile the time by singing improvised songs, always using the same traditional tune. The same kind of song, to the same tune with its prolonged falling final note, is sung by boatmen and by grass cutters on the mountain, and, while the tune is always the same the words are made up for the occasion.

When a girl is seventeen years old, or a boy nineteen to twenty, the Min Chia consider it time for them to marry. In practice they will already have been betrothed since childhood and the only thing to be decided is the day which, in accordance with the horoscope of the engaged pair, is most suitable and auspicious for the marriage. The betrothal, which is sometimes concluded when the children are quite small, is arranged by a marriage-broker, usually an elderly woman or man acquainted with both families, for the future bride and groom must never meet before the marriage, and it is not considered good taste for the two families to negotiate directly. The marriage-broker receives no fee for his trouble, but he acts as president of the marriage feast, and is usually the kind of person who

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

4. Occupations.

463 [423] [462] All Ch'iang are farmers. Even the priests and local rulers have fields which they farm or rent to others. The land, houses, and tools are owned not by individuals, but by families, and all the members of the family cooperate in the work. Men do the plowing, for there is a taboo against women doing so. Men and women cooperate in hoeing, planting, weeding, fertilizing, reaping, flailing, winnowing, husking, wood gathering, etc. Women and girls generally do the cooking, sewing and spinning, and only women weave. There are some blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and painters, but these are farmers who work also at these trades when there is a demand for their labor. There are no silversmiths or goldsmiths, for silver and gold ornaments are bought ready-made or made to order in a Chinese city. Few if any of the Ch'iang are merchants, although there are Ch'iang homes where matches, vegetable oil, wine, and a few other commodities are sold. Even the priests are farmers who have learned to perform the sacred ceremonies when required.

313 Wood is gathered in the forests on the mountainsides. Groups of men and women and boys and girls often go out and return together, singing as they work. Much of the winter supply is gathered in the fall after the crops have been harvested.

482 All loads, even of water or of wood, are carried on their backs. Families that are poor sometimes supplement their incomes by carrying loads on their backs to Kuanshien and to other distant places.

226 There is little fishing, probably because there are not many fish in the mountain streams. Fishing is sometimes done with a baited hook and line, or by a basket-like trap into which the fish enter and are unable to escape.

224 Nearly all the men enjoy hunting, and some who are expert hunt a great deal. Most of the hunting is done in the late fall and winter after the crops have been harvested. Generally a few men with several dogs cooperate and share the spoils. Leopards, wild boar, deer, mountain goats, musk deer, foxes, pheasants and other game are found. Even monkeys are killed and eaten.

241 When fresh land is desired for cultivation, the trees, brush, and grass in a section of the forest are cut down and burnt. This gives a rich soil for a few years, after which the land may be deserted

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a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall.

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dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place.

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The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds.

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Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles.

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The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/ placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the

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342 front wall. A large part of the yard is set off by a low wall and serves
[343] as a cattle pen. Opposite this on the narrow side is a stall for horses and yaks, formed merely by a roof about 2 meters wide and open toward the yard. The house itself consists of two rooms about two meters high with simple mud walls and a Tibetan-style flat roof formed of horizontal wooden beams laid side by side, with layers of earth spread over them. The two rooms are furnished with simple k'angs which are heated from the outside, as in China. Almost all these winter houses look very dilapidated. Next to the winter houses one sometimes sees large stacks of dried yak dung, resembling our haystacks.
[372] [237]

Work of the Men and Women

512 The daily schedule and the work of the tent nomads is very simple. They sleep surprisingly little. They get up at the first hint of dawn and do not go to bed until two or three hours after dark. They only occasionally take a nap in the middle of the day. As soon as they get up, they milk their animals and drive them out to pasture.

462 The men work very little. Their favorite occupation is riding in company and paying calls, during which the main topic of conversation is pasture conditions and choice of pasture sites. When it grows dark they chat and drink tea. Oddly enough, the men make their own clothes.
[294]

462 For the rest, practically all the work falls on the women. They
234 must milk, make butter and dried curds. Cooking, however, takes little time, in view of the simplicity of the Tibetan diet.

283 The women also spin. The fleece is first /23/ washed in cold
462 water, wrung out and then dried on the meadow. In spinning they
286 wind the wool on a short wooden stick and, with a simple hand spindle consisting of a weighted wooden stick, they spin off a coarse yarn. The wool which the women spin they take to the sedentary Fantzu women who can weave a cloth used in making tsamba bags. The nomad women buy back this cloth with money, butter or wool. The cloth for their woolen coats and pelerines they have woven by
[435] Chinese in Ho-chou. The Chinese weaver gets one cent for a foot of material. The nomad women themselves know how to weave only the coarse yak hair cloth from which tents are made. The men and women also twist coarse ropes of yak hair which they use to stretch the tent material, for bridles and for tying up their horses. Other feminine handiwork, such as knitting and embroidering, is not done by the nomad women.

372 Gathering fuel is one of the important occupations of the women.
237 They must collect yak and sheep dung, dry it and stack it properly.

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The women of the tent nomads do not go out to work like the wives of the sedentary Fantzu. Year in and year out their whole time is taken up by caring for the animals. 462

The children are put to work early tending the animals. The girls must, in addition, also gather dung, but the boys do not help in this occupation. The girls start to milk when they are 12 or 13 years old. 857

Animal Husbandry

The Mewu-Fantzu live exclusively from the products of their livestock. They keep yaks, cattle, sheep and horses, also dogs, of course. The most important animal is the yak. The yaks of the Mewu region are generally pure black, occasionally /24/ spotted with white. There are yaks with and without horns. Lack of horns seems to be a recessive hereditary characteristic. There are wealthy families who own more than 100 yaks; but the average number is much less. The 20 tents in the community where I lived together owned 700 yaks, which means an average of 35 per family. The highest number of yaks per family in this community was 70, the lowest 7. It can also happen that poor people do not own any yaks at all, but merely rent them. A family of five needs more than 10 milch cows. 231

Not all families have bulls, but the owner of a bull does not get paid for covering. A cow drops her first calf when she is 2 to 3 years old. The gestation period of the yak is 9 months. Most calves are born in the third or fourth month. In the seventh or eighth month the cows are again covered. Good cows are allowed to grow very old; they are alsughtered only when they are 17 or 18 years old. The calf is gradually weaned, but the amount of milk it gets is reduced very soon after birth. When it is one or two months old the calf gets a nose plug, to prevent it from sucking. The adult yak gets a nose ring made of a bent length of a sturdy withe. Calves and young bulls are often driven to pasture in pairs with their fore-legs tied together, so that they cannot stray too far away.

The oxen are used as pack animals when they are three years old. At the age of 15 or 16 they are fattened and killed. The yaks graze all the year round; only when there is deep snow, which may happen every year in January and February, do they get some green cut oats. The yaks are never given any salt, and therefore always show a definite hunger for it. Milking is done exclusively by the women and girls. The yak cow will let itself be milked only when her calf is tethered near by. A very good milch cow gives a bucket 234

made mostly in T'ao-chou where there is a large copper and brass industry. A kettle of this type costs $10 to $20. The large copper /34/ tea kettles are also made in T'ao-chou, as well as the stands for the tea kettles and the tripods of brass or iron. The tsamba is kept in square, open wooden boxes; larger supplies are kept in bags.

Chinese porcelain bowls are rarely used for tea and food, wooden bowls being commonly employed, and they are imported from Szechuan. (Sung-p'an or Nga-wa). Chinese from the region of Ho-chou also furnish cheap bowls made of birch wood. For cooking, large iron ladles are used which must not be touched by the lips nor come in contact with the rim of the food bowl. Homemade wooden spoons are also used in cooking. Small tablespoons, mostly of birch, are imported from the sedentary Fantzu who live in forested areas (for example, Sung-p'an, Tebu-Fantzu from the region of Cho-ni) or from Chinese.

The hearth is made of loam and is about 1/2 meter high. On the side it has three holes for adding fuel, and on top three corresponding circular openings on which cooking pots are placed. Sheep and yak dung are used exclusively for fuel, the former only to kindle the fire. The dung is collected only by the women, mostly by the younger girls, and carefully dried. Osier baskets are used for gathering dung. A large basket full of dried yak dung, enough for 2 days of cooking, costs 20 copper coins (4 cents). Matches are used occasionally, but the old flint (1) and steel are

1. Rockhill 1), Plate 9, Figures 2 - 4.

still commonly employed. The steel is placed in a silver handle set with corals. The fire is fanned with a simple bellows (2) made

2. Rockhill 1), page 709.

of sheepskin, to which is attached a crude iron tube. The skin is sewed to a cone-shaped bag, the point of which is attached to the iron tube. In blowing, the large opening (base) of the bag is rhythmically squeezed together with the lower arm. The hearth fire /35/ also serves to light up the tent. Butter lamps which consist of small, shallow copper and brass bowls about 6 centimeters in diameter, are used only for ritualistic purposes. Only carefully clarified lard is burned in them.

We can scarcely say that the tent nomads have any special

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craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu.

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials.

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given.

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese, chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials.

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and

The woman does not receive special callers. The Fantzu are equally 846
glad over the birth of a boy or a girl, because the girl can later
bring an adopted son into the household. There are no festivals after
a child is born; nor is there any kind of initiation ceremonies when 852
a youth reaches maturity.

Most of the work is done exclusively by the women. The men 462
pay each other visits - on horseback or on foot - and chat, the main
subject of conversation being the choice of pasturelands. The young
people are entrusted with the tending of the animals. The girls are
also required to gather yak dung for fuel. This work is also done by
the older women, but never by the men. The wives of the nomads
never go out to work as do the wives of the sedentary Fantzu, because
they are too busy taking care of the animals and the dairy.

The woman always has a decisive voice within the family, re- 562
gardless of whether her husband was adopted by her family or whether 593
she married into the family of her husband. In commercial deals, for
example, the woman has the final decision; the man /73/ if possi-
ble asks her approval before concluding any business transaction. It
can even happen that the woman beats her husband, but married
couples also beat each other. Relatives cannot interfere in a marriage.
If young married couples quarrel with their parents-in-law, they
move into another tent. In other cases three generations live in one
tent. There can be as many as 10 inhabitants of a tent, but the
average number is four - parents and two children. If a couple can- 586
not get along, the t'ou-mu[1] gives the verdict at the divorce proceed-
ings.

After the death of his wife, a man can remarry immediately, 587
provided he has the necessary means; a widow can also remarry at 428
once. Orphans are taken in by the grandparents, if possible, or by
the nearest relatives. If his wife dies, a man keeps his children,
provided the wife has married into his family. If a man dies who
was adopted into the wife's family, the children remain with her
family, even though the family of a widow should adopt a second
husband for her. If the widow of an adopted husband marries into
another family, the children of the first marriage remain in the
maternal family.

If a man dies who was adopted as a son-in-law by a family,
the latter tries to find a new husband for the widow and a new son-
in-law as soon as possible. He then inherits the property of the
first husband, but must also take over the duties of providing for
the children of the first marriage. If the woman cannot soon marry

[1] [t'ou-mu = tribal chieftain -- Analyst]